

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 EURE-00 EB-08 OMB-01 /088 W

-----281836Z 089610 /44

P 281538Z JAN 77

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6271

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 0694

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR NATO PINT PL

SUBJ: NATO STUDY OF THE SITUATION IN POLAND

REF: USNATO 0440

1. WE FIND THE NATO INTERNATIONAL STAFF PAPER (REF) TO BE A FAIRLY GOOD SKETCH ON THE CURRENT POLISH POLITICAL-ECONOMIC SCENE. IN COMMENTING ON IT, HOWEVER, THE DEPARTMENT MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING: IN THE FIRST SENTENCE OF PARA 1, WE ASSUME THE DRAFTERS MEANT "YEARS" INSTEAD OF "MONTHS." IN THE SECOND SENTENCE WE ARE TROUBLED BY THE GENERAL USE OF THE WORD "WEAKNESS", WHICH IMPLIES MORE THAN WE ARE WILLING TO ATTRIBUTE IN THE WAY OF LEADERSHIP IMPOTENCE. SOMETHING LIKE "THE AUTHORITIES BECAME AWARE OF THEIR WEAK GRASP ON PUBLIC OPINION" WOULD BE A MORE ACCURATE FORMULATION. THE THIRD SENTENCE IS ALSO TOO SWEEPING A GENERALIZATION. WE WOULD SAY THAT IDEOLOGICAL OBDURACY HAS "ALIENATED MANY STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS." EVEN THE ACTIVE WARSAW INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITY WAS FAR FROM UNITED IN ITS APPROACH TO THE JUNE EVENTS. FINALLY, WE DO NOT SEE THE WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE AS PROVIDING THE BANNER AROUND WHICH THE DIFFERENT OPPOSITION GROUPS MIGHT RALLY. WHILE OUR REPORTING HAS TOUCHED ON THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ALLIANCE AMONG THE CHURCH HIERARCHY, THE INTELLECTUALS, AND THE WORKERS, WE THINK THE WDL HAS NOT SHOWN THE DRIVING FORCE TO FORGE SUCH A COALITION.

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TION.

2. PARAGRAPH 3 IS ALL RIGHT. ALTHOUGH ECONOMIC PROBLEMS HAVE NOT EVAPORATED, THE REGIME'S CONFIDENCE IN DEALING WITH THEM HAS INCREASED NOTICEABLY SINCE GIEREK'S NOVEMBER TRIP TO MOSCOW. RESPONDING WITH THE PRAGMATISM WHICH HAS BEEN THE HALLMARK OF HIS LEADERSHIP, GIEREK HAS SCALED DOWN INVESTMENT AND GROWTH

PLANS AND TURNED TO PRIVATE SECTOR ENCOURAGEMENT AS THE BEST MEANS TO OBTAIN QUICK IMPROVEMENTS IN THE LIVING STANDARD.

3. IN THE THIRD SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH SIX, WE BELIEVE THE PHRASE BEGINNING "THEY WOULD LEAD" SHOULD BE REPLACED WITH "THEY WOULD PROVE INTOLERABLE." IN FACT, A "SPLIT" ALREADY EXISTS BETWEEN THE REGIME AND THE COUNTRY. MOREOVER, GIEREK'S IMPORTANCE AS THE "KINGPIN" OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP EXTENDS BEYOND HIS ABILITY TO MAINTAIN POPULAR ALLEGIANCE. HIS ABILITY TO PREVENT PARTY AND REGIONAL INFIGHTING ARE ALSO CONTRIBUTING FACTORS. WE WOULD ADD THAT OLSZOWSKI HAS AN AUTHORITATIVE BUT A DIFFICULT NEW POSITION. HIS FUTURE ADVANCEMENT DEPENDS ON A SUCCESSFUL PERFORMANCE.

4. IN PARAGRAPH SEVEN, WE SUGGEST REPLACING "A TOLERANT ATTITUDE" WITH "FOREBEARANCE." THE REGIME IS MOTIVATED MORE BY A DESIRE NOT TO EXACERBATE THE TENSE SITUATION THAN IT IS BY RESPECT FOR THE BELIEFS OF OTHERS. FURTHER EVIDENCE OF THIS ARE THE TRIALS OF WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE MEMBERS IN THE PETTY COURT (REF: WARSAW 0435).

5. IN PARAGRAPH EIGHT, WE SUGGEST REPLACING "CONSUMER DEFENSE" WITH "SATISFYING CONSUMER DEMANDS."

6. WE ARE NOT SURE TO WHAT EXTENT THE DISCUSSION OF THIS NATO PAPER WILL INVOLVE WORD CHANGES. IF THIS IS NOT THE WAY THE SYSTEM WORKS, WE RECOMMEND THAT THE U.S. REPRESENTATIVE AT LEASE POINT OUT THE DIFFERENCES IN TONE AND STRESS OUTLINED ABOVE.

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## Message Attributes

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